1: Berque--15 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/8/

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/9/

Fig. 2. -- The orographic cadre of the Seksawa.

1: Berque--16 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Idaw Gœryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Âli, an unidentified
101 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
[778] An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
[172] at about 300 meters from the summit, an icy spring spouts a
[312] weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous: Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids of the Tanddri and the Ras Mulay Âli, the valley is closed by a wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tassyut and the Mssddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa Ufella.

137 Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tam-
[133] gonsi, from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before Alus. A bucolic thicket, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi
[778] Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the asif
[133] Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wâdi't-tuffâh, "the river of the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Âli.
[173] These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished
[824] so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the
[437] fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, asemlal, perhaps
[226] indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree,
[824] and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers and bushes, among them the "briar," tikhfert. Rich in freshness, color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Sek-
101 sawa. Its flanks are studded with populations of "opuntia,"
634 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
[103] are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some instructive names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi Jâmâ, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Rekto and Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Between torrents/, the village of Igersafen. Another country, that of the a. H'adduyws, starts there.

[Imt'ddan]

/52 cont./

133 old occupant. A spring permits the irrigation of a little
10 ground. The valley becomes more clement downstream, up to
634 the junction with the river. There, another village, Tamezgurt,
[172] picturesquely rears its houses of black basalt, and its timezgida,
[361] prettily put in an angled bastion. It is the third bourg of the tetrahedron. The fourth, Tinwalin, well downstream, faces the holy place of Z'init'.

One who reaches the river by one of the affluent valleys of the opposite bank, the one that descends from Wanchkrir, for example, will discover the desolation of the whole country that the long Afuzar barrier, oriented S.S.W.-N.N.E., shuts off to the east. The impression of severity increases when one pene-
133 trates in the direction of Assttif by way of the narrow ravine, ob-
172 structed by giant laurels, that opens on the ruined village of
634 Ijgit. This is the Amlal i-ykiram, all studded with ruins, with blackened and hacked roots: a cursed valley, which an undoubtedly abundant flow has not restored to prosperity since the departure of the first occupants. The same as Ijgit, the ground has been deserted. At present only a man from Tannsmekht lives there: but he is the blacksmith, familiar, as is known, with the
[103] malignant powers. And nevertheless the toponymy, in all this region, reveals former bucolic moress from Wanchkrir, the grounds crossed are called: Wizgaren, "of the cattle," i-yggiz, "of the calf," Tisserdan, "the she-mules." This ravine, /53/ itself unfruitful, which the pilgrim from Assttif must cross, is the Amlal i-ykiram, something which perhaps is like "the sand of the generous." Backed up to the cliff of the Afuzar, where the Tizi
[795] Mggayd' allows passage toward the Gedmiwa, the zaouia of Assttif, isolated in this ruin, seems to have concentrated all the benefic forces that little by little deserted the rest of the country, or which constituted the reverse side of the malignant forces implacable against the a. Gasa. In these lands cursed by history, and doubtlessly condemned by rite, it incarnates hope and compensation. It re-establishes an equilibrium in favor of the group.

[Ait Abdella]

/57 cont./

103 A harsh history survives in the toponyms. A squad of saints: Sidi Rah'h'âl n-a. Ikherrachen at Imi n-tghli, higher the Re-
[196] graga of Talâint and Tiburiin, higher still the marabouts /58/ of
[192] Igerwal -- come between a. Abdella and a. Musa. The characteristics of the toponymy, clinging to a landscape itself very expressive, accentuate this impression of a passage from one world to another: here a ruiniform rock, the "rock of the Fort," Tansmert wugadir, there a wall of stone seeming to close the valley, Lluh'n-Khaddo, which is perhaps "the Table of H'addô," just as higher there will be an Amlal Yah'ya: and all of these names have a possibly historic sonority. Finally, and even more characteristic, the majestic site of the zaouia of Talâint is dominated by a hill called Awrir n-sidi Limam, at the foot of which there is a "hollow" of the Mahdi Tamd'a n-Lmehdi. One knows who this Imam Lmehdi is in the language of the mountains: this is actually Ibn Toumert. This reminder here, at the very spot where another domain is going to begin, which an accessory hagiology, besides the relief and a violent combativity, defended for
184 a long time, is to be contemplated. The bond of this country of transition with the people of Tuz'z'umt and Bul^{c}wân can only be
[167] artificial. Visibly this world is without unity. Its ikhs-s, one will see, are heteroclites. They call themselves recent occupants; and by title of immigrants and buyers rather than conquerors.

133 To the E. of this section of valley, confused marly hills ex-
131 tend their yellowish glaciated rock to the base of the calcareous
634 entablatures, russet and graven at the summit, where the Dwiran domain begins. Again, a former no man's land /in English in the original source/, where, still in the memory of man, hordes of brigands, some of whom came from the Sous, ransomed at will or even assassinated shepherd or traveler. Today, a zone of pasture-land between tribes, where significantly the Idma have acquired,
133 or recovered, the right of usage. This mass of alfa steppe, which
634 toward the S., at the approaches to Z'init', is famous for a huge ring of polished stone, with tumulus in the center, the tarrut' n-Lala Aziza, has been mentioned above. The saint,

[Ait Gasa]

/72 cont./

101 /The rest of this section is printed in small type in the original source./ But the big problem of the valley is that of the 174 disappearance of the a. Gasa. It is known that they now exist on 619 the other side of the Afuzar, ranged with the a. Tkssit and the a. Gâir in an ensemble artificially attached to the Gedmiwa.

172 Impossible to cross the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa without 619 falling on traces of the a. Gasa. Here archeology is confirmed by legend, and memory has remained vivid concerning this powerful tribe, with its escarped forts, and which the curse of Lalla Aziza had conquered by a less numerous tribe, the Idma.

Archeologically their habitat is still recognizable from upstream of Z'init', going downstream, to the valleys ending in a cul-de-sac on the Afuzar. Particularly in the Assttif ravine, tiers in /73/ ruins, dried-up almond trees reveal the former prosperity. At Z'init', one of their forts bars the valley.

•[103] Popular tradition mentions several of their villages: Taggrurt, Amlal n-Gâr, Tannçemt, Jjgit, Tannsmekht, Iggiz, Wañchkrir, Tamezgurt, Tagonit.

Their az'allo, where they come together for festivities, dominates the col making the ravine of Assttif communicate with that of the Imt'ddan. Surely a sign of an era when the axis of their life had left the main valley. Let us also note that they are associated with six "mansions" of Lalla Aziza, which fan out toward the E., just as a whole squad of sacred places protects it on the side of the plain. For it does not have to be protected from either the W. or from the S.

The a. Gasa are associated with the saint in a complex, but still classical system of relations with two faces: liaison-repulsion.

173 An unvarying tradition attributes their eviction to Lalla 619 Aziza. Their crimes were numerous. They plundered the pilgrims and gratified their debauchery on them. One day, a chief named sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, from Z'init', having asked for their help in gathering the harvest, they cut the throat of one of his sons, whom they left wrapped under a mat. Shortly afterwards, during an ambush, he killed 11 of their men, including their chief.

[Idma]

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[166] /75 cont./ the end of the fifteenth century (3).

3. The Fawâ'id, Justinard tr., 1953, p. 56, register a sheik, Mûsâ at-Tudmâwî, who left the Sous to settle in the Daran. He died in 1003 Heg.: 1595.

[176] The saint of Assttif precedes by six other /76/ generations another Idma saint, from a collateral lineage, Sidi Lh'sen u Bubker of Ad'erd'ur, specialist in the expulsion of spirits. With him, we are at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

361
619 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Let us stop for a moment at the site of these two villages of Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, first settlement of the Idma. Usikis was their first stop, from which they progressively spread out. Its dignity is still eminent. It was almost always in this village that the chiefs were recruited. Their designation was brought about in comitia at Inraren Z'dinin, and the college broke up only at Usikis, on the rock called Taunt n-Fad'ma H'ssayn, after the invocation of the saint of Ammern. The village is built in latitudes of a cruel desolation. Everywhere massive escarpments of black schist hang over it. Several clusters of houses, stuck on a puny esplanade, dominate the almost vertical drop of a prodigious staircase of fields. This spurt of human will surges [103] forth in a general aridity, which crushes it everywhere and which the toponyms themselves express: thus near the village there is a "field of hunger," bur n-lâz', just as a little higher there is a "source of hunger," talâint n-jjuᶜ, or a "field of the Jew," iger n-bhenkuk. These derisive appellations aim at conjuring up [621] misery. But, visibly, only the tension of the group succeeds in maintaining life. It is expressed by the connivance of the saints and by a folkloric richness indicating a strong context of rite and legends. It is also expressed in rural order, in municipal quarreling, and in military expansion.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./ A
It^ is divided as follows:

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632
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621
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Traditional ancestor	Subgroups	Ikhs	Villages
Musa.		a. Sâid.	Awines, Ighilan, Butaghradin.
		a. u Chelh'.	Agadir.
		a. Naçer.	—
		a. Amer.	Awines.
	a. Mençur.	a. Bnniya.	Iwulla, Tug u Lkheyr.
		a. Mulid.	Iwulla.
		Ikhwawn.	Iwulla, Wanzid'.
		a. Mh'and u Bujmâ.	Tabradjut.
		a. Lechger.	Tamesdakht.
		a. u Zarra.	—
	a. Daud.	a. u Mâli.	Awines.
		a. u Sus.	Awines.
		a. H'ammô Ali.	Agadir, Ighilan.
		u. H'ammô.	Ighilan.
		a. u Addam.	—
		a. Skiwt.	—

619
173
[172]

/87/ The a. Lh'sen conquest takes place in several phases. First, they occupy an agadir, the ruins of which still exist in a. Mh'nd. Then, they invade the high canton of Iwulla, separated from the Idaw Mh'mud by a ridge of 3,000 meters. They complete this occupation by that of Wanz'id'. All snatched from the Demsira. The legend renders well the epic cruelty of these struggles.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ At this time the a. Lh'sen were occupying only Iwulla. One of them had married a Demsira woman from Wanz'id'. His father-in-law asked him for several beams in order to construct a terrace. His son-in-law carried them to him up to the col that separates the Iwulla from Wanz'id'; the Demsira man then proclaimed that his demand only had the aim of humiliating an a. Lh'sen. The son-in-law said nothing, but called for a general invitation of the Demsira to Iwulla, a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver."

A^[i.e., the Ait Lh'sen--Analyst]

[Ait Mh'nd]

/180 cont./

241 233 notable differences in physical nature, utilization, social rhythm, and even toponymic density introduce not only a division of labor, but a qualitative order linked to the life and to the conceptions of the group.

Livestock Breeding

233 22 [361] [184] From the village, which is itself at more than 1,800 meters, one sees the mountain covered with snow for a good part of the year. As in all the Seksawa, stabling, with prepared fodder, mowed forage, collected grass, stored straw, and preserved acorns and turnips, is imperative for long periods. Nevertheless, pasturage is organized over two sectors, by rotation. One, the mountain pasture, above and to the S. of the village, the Adrar, is placed in defense from March /181/ to June. The other, on the Ameznir, toward the Ibuban massif, is placed in defense from June to January. One recognizes this procedure of placing in defense, ig^{w}mi, represented in many other cantons of the Seksawa. Together with the practices of mowed forage, preserved fodder, and shelter, it indicates a well-adapted, coherent system.

Dry Crops

241 31 [243] [132] 311 [103] If one excepts some tillage practiced on the periphery of the crater on the S. side, the great part of the a. Mh'nd sown fields extends, in the direction of the Ibuban massif, on a bulge of land of some 2,000 meters in altitude, where, thanks to a favorable, even though indeterminable pluviometry, and also doubtlessly to momentary snowfall, barley and rye prosper. A very clear thing, the albur is divided into "quarters," tigh^{w}mrin, or simply tismawin, so that -- if we follow, from the S. peak, the arc of the circle that is presented to us with, far in the background, the Ilikri -- we find the following toponyms: Iz'ran Umlil̃n, Anrar^{w}-Waman, Naštjur (characteristic rocky points), a smooth

[Ait Mh'nd]

311 /181 cont./
103 dome stretching from these rocks to the Ameznir, and which bears the name of Un-an, Tag^{w}d'ayt, etc.

423 On each of these quarters, all moreover privately appropri-
311 ated, is affirmed the vocation of each ikhs, just as on the irri-
[613] gated. But the distance, the difficulty of transport, and doubt-
[578] lessly also the character of confines that, even on the scale of these cantons, these expanses offer in relation to the density, to the proximity, and, if I may venture to say it, to the "presence" of the irrigated ground, all of that results in the fact that the rivalries between the powerful are given a free course there, more or less excluding the weak. But the latter are aware of their
[103] rights. In August, 1950, interrogating with J. Dresch a modest livestock-breeder met on the side of the source, we were able to note that he enumerated, as his land right bearing on all the albur quarters, the following names:

-- periphery of the crater: Anammer Udrar (on the Zkkat'), Inwalen (on the Awrir Iwiggin);
-- in the direction of the Ibuban: Griighrad'en, Anammer n-a. Lghachi, Unan (toward the Tizi Unluf), Talâint Umeznir, Ag^{w}ni n-Ish'aq, Akhbu^{w}wagaywar, Albur i-ysekni;
-- finally, in the thalweg: Imd'rar, Az'ru n-tmedda.

That is, for a very small country, a dozen quarters where, if one may say it, his vocation as owner and especially, in the case in point, as claimant will be exercised; this "right" ends up by constituting a sort of permanent blackmail of the poor.

423 Let us say, in anticipating a little, that this rule has been
182 cross-checked many times. It presents itself to the people of the country with the clearness of an organic law. It unites the life of the group and guarantees its equilibrium, through the judicial and moral tensions that, no less than the fruit of the fields, form its vitality, its virility, and ensure it against the precariousness and the perils of mountain life.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/182/ Toponymy of the Irrigated Ground of the Ait Mh'nd
/Left side of chart/

423
103

Names of quarters	Names of subdivisions of quarters			
Twuttyan (cf. awuttu, "limit").	Talghachit (derived from an Ikhs name).	Agerd"a Wazar, "col of the fig tree."	F-usderm-an, "on this escarpment."	Iwchchah'en.
	Dar-uzerg, "at the mill."	Ifdisn-an, "the walls of dry stone."	Taglagalt-an, "the place where the waters stagnate."	Uzrar, "thirst" (very dry place where there is gravel, "Imezrar").
Tacddut, "the declivity."	Wa-lemri, "the reflecting."	Asdrem" Wanz'-et't'a, "the escarpment of the a." (cf. below).	Ihlawen (derived from a name).	Ush'aq (derived from a name).
Tighermin, "the fields in tiers."	Amlal Wuggu-g"en, "the fine sand of the catchments."	Tagh"zit n-ait Said, "the field of the a. S."	Ughzif n-tghermin, "the fields lengthwise."	Agd'ay n-tghermin, "the pool of the fields."
Amegdul w-uzddar, "the park below."	Bu-ih'chach, "the huts."	Talh'chut, "the pebbles."	Dar wad'il, "at the vines."	Mm - wamimrad (plant name).
Amegdul ufella, "the park above."	Amegdul Ichahan, "the park of I."			
Tawddwa.	Targa h'ayt Zbayr, "the séguia of the a. Z."	Makan" uchboro, "beyond the retrenchment."	Tamalutl-Leftrug, "ubac of L."	
Anammran, "the adret."	Adukk"ali.			
Dqu-wanz'et't'a (*anz'ell'a*, "pellicle of moss on a stone or on the water").	Tagh"zit m-Mazuz, "the field of M."	Findus.	Tighedwin-an, "the poles" (long and parallel parcels).	Mm-ti-leh'la, "at the apple trees."
Tafarnut, "bread oven."	Tafarnut n-ayt Umghar.	Tafarnut n-a. Bakhkha.		

/adret, flank of valley oriented toward the south;
ubac, flank of valley oriented toward the north./

[Ait Mh'nd]

/183/
/Right side of chart/

103
423

Mm-uqel-mun, "in hood form."	Im-tmid'i (ti-mid'i: "the 100 wal-nuts").	Agerd' wad'-il, "the col of the vine."	Agh^{w}zafan, "length-wise."	Bu-tfaliyn, "at the fallen rocks."	Tar agharas, "without road."
Imi l-lutrat, "the open-ing of the harness collar."	Ag^{w}mmad' i-yghzer, "the bank of the ravine."	Bu-lh'chu, "at the gravel."			
Tamggay-nant, "the damp hol-low."	Ddu-taswikt, "under the walnut tree."	Mm-telggut, "at the aloggo (genista)."			
Ag^{w}mmad'n -tafrawt, "the bank of the basin."	Ikniwun, "the twins."				
Ag^{w}dal-an, "the park."	Aghda^{w} wag-mar, "the pole of the horse."				

[Ait Mh'nd]

/184/ Toponymy of the Irrigated Ground of the Ait Mh'nd (cont.)

423
• 103

Names of quarters	Name of subdivisions of quarters		
Afud-an, "the knee."	Amlal^{w} wafud'-an, "the fine sand of Afud'an."		
Talat n-tenghort, "the hollow of the excavation."	Lluz n-ait Naçer, "the almond trees of the a. N."	Tinummar l-lmechh'i, "the adrets of the dry fruits."	Tagh^{w}zit u-wamalw-an, "the field of the ubac."
Tagenza ufella, "the talus above."	Ddu-Tgenza, "under the talus."	F-ugenza, "on the talus."	Amlal n-fu-wasif, "the fine sand above the torrent."
Ddu^{w}-wsderm, "under the escarpment."			
Wankutuf.			
Ddu-tg^{w}mma, "under the houses."	Içd'ar-an, "the sluices."	Talat n-wkhrib, "the hollow of the ruins."	
Ddu-wz'ru, "under the rock."	Amlal l-ymzilen, "the fine sand of the blacksmiths."	Ait Lamin.	Ait Bakhkha.
Ughad', "of the goat."	Ibh'irn n-ait Umghar, "the field of the a. U."	Ibh'irn n-a. Lah'sen u Said, "fields of the a. L."	
Igherman-an, "the parcels."	Tagh^{w}zit n-ait Abdennur, "the field of the a. A."	Tigh^{w}ziwinn ait Umghar, "the fields of the a. U."	Amlal n-ait Umghar, "the fine sand of the a. U."
Dar - Talmechmacht, "at the apricot tree."	Tagh^{w}zit n-a. Umghar, "the field of the a. U."	Tagh^{w}zit n-a. Abdennur, "the field of the a. A."	
Tifratin, "the small basins."	Tagh^{w}zit n-ait H'sayn, "the field of the a. H."	Tigh^{w}ziwin n-a. Umghar, "the fields of the a. U."	Tagh^{w}zit n-a. H'ammu u-Bella, "the field of the a. H'."

/185/ Toponymy of the Irrigated Ground of the Ait Mh'nd (cont.)

423
103

Names of quarters	Names of subdivisions of quarters		
Iger zegg^{w}aghen, "the red field."	Tigh^{w}ziwin i-ym-zilen, "the fields of the black-smiths."	Tigh^{w}ziwin n-a. Lamin, "the fields of the a. L."	Tagh^{w}zit n-ayt Lkut'ayn, "the fields of the a. L."
Dar-uzerg, "at the mill."	Ibh'irn n-ayt Mençur, "the fields of the a. M."	Ibh'irn n-a. Lku-t'ayn, "the fields of the a. L." (cf. above).	Ibh'irn n-ayt Bu-irddamen, "the fields of the a. B."
Amettul m-Mer-zug, "the land of M."	Ibh'irn n-a. Bakh-kha, "the fields of the a. B."	Ibh'irn n-ait Mençur, "the fields of the a. M."	
Talat n-tsettuft, "the hollow of T."	Ibh'irn n-T't'aleb ɛAli, "the fields of the T'."	Ibh'irn n-ayt H'fid u yidar, "the fields of the a. H."	Ibh'irn n Abdella, "the fields of A."

Irrigated Crops

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[312]

What is striking first of all is the extreme toponymic density. If our appellation of ground can be turned to account for the ensemble, keeping in mind the fact that it is a continuous whole, a first differentiation by quarters appears at once. I mean here by "quarter" an agrarian unit having its irrigation autonomy. The ground of the a. Mh'nd includes some 25 quarters thus comprised. Here are the names of them: Twuttyan, Taçddut, Tighermin, Amegdul, Tawddwa, Annammeran, Ddu-wanz't't'a, Tighe dwinan, Ag^{w}dalan, Tafernut, Afud'an, Talat n-Tnghort, Tagenza, Ddu-wsderm, Wakuntuf, Ddutgomma, Ughad, Ddu w-wz'ru, Ighermanan, Dar-talmechmacht, Tifratin, Iger zegg^{w}aghen, n-dar-uzerg, 'Amtul m-Merzug, Talat n-tsttuft.

But many other names, corresponding to smaller spaces, could be cited, within the still rather exiguous cadre (about 1/2 ha. each) that the quarter constitutes. A veritable toponymic pullulation comes out between the meshes. In relation to the

[Ait Mh'nd]

/185 cont./

103 423 spacious "albur" quarter, such as Unan, the irrigated quarter, ddu waman, is very exiguous. But it is itself a vast multiple of other elementary cells, being able to go as far as the humble series of "parcels." Would it go even to the "parcel," if our study could go down so far? "Each tibh'irt has its name": such at least is the saying that one hears uttered spontaneously during this kind of inquiry. Concerning the land, however, it is necessary to state that if the "quarter" is split up into secondary names, there is no /186/ /left side of map appears here/ /187/ /right side of map appears here/ /188/ name for each tier, still less for each parcel. A variable density of names is, moreover, observed by the peasant himself. If he does not have any abstract notion of "quarter," he obviously carries it out, and the etiquette of the terms of tamazirt or ar. /Arabic/ bot'ra. One sometimes hears tighmert, put in connection with ar. rokna, "corner," doubtlessly "corner of earth." Tighmert was defined for me as designating the convex angle that the salient of the talus delimiting the tier forms, while the area thus circumscribed was called tawz'z'ut, plur. tiwz'z'a, this is, perhaps: "the redan" and "the recess." [823]

The picture above, drawn from direct information at the places, shows that, for 25 quarters properly speaking, about 80 names of lesser local units are known. That is, three or four toponymic submultiples for each quarter. But this density is very unequal. The central quarter of Twuttyan, the best irrigated, the most harmoniously placed at the heart of the ground, a privileged quarter in a sense, contains 17 names in itself alone.

Mechanism of the Irrigation and of the Crop Rotation

312 This whole ensemble is not irrigated by less than about 15 ditches, each having its name. Here they are: Targa umegdul, t. ti m-mkan Uchboro, t. n-a Zobayr, t. Umegdul, t. n-tuz'z'-umt, t. n-tarmin, t. n-dda-Wanz't't'a, t. n-tfarnut, t. n-tmazirt, t. g-ifdisn-an, t. n-temj'j'ut't'-an, t. Wankutuf, t. w. Ugdal-an, t. Waghad, t. n-ddu-wz'ru, t. y-iger zeggʷaghen, t.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 263]

[Agersili]

/From p. 194 of the original source./

Toponymy of Agersili

a) Left bank

• 103

Toponyms	Approximate meaning	Toponyms	Approximate meaning
Targa n-tghauni.	"the séguia of the cascades."	AytYus.	(proper name).
		Ighzer-an.	"this ravine."
Imi n-talat i-Ylarzg.	"the entrance of the hollow of Ilarzg."	Ddu-wderg-an.	"under this rock."
Tanluft.	"color of blight of erosion."	Asarun-temd'a.	"the ditch of the pond."
Talh'yant.	"with goat-ee."	Asaru n-ait-Yirz'.	"the ditch of the a. I."
Talat-an.	"the hollow."	Ighzer n-ait-H'sayn.	"the ravine of the a. H."
Adaghas n-talt-an.	"the shelter of the hollow."	Asaru awragh.	"the yellow ditch."
Ddu-f-igherm-an.	"under the top of the bench."	F-tabarin.	"succession of vertical tiers (tamart or tabart)," "beard."
Tiz'ma y-Ij'anaten.	"the grasslands of I."		
Uggug n-trga n-tsila.	"the head of the séguia of the Tasila."	Az'ru^{u}wawuk.	"the stone of the owl."
Talat n-ggud'it.	"the hollow of the pile."	Amalu n-talat n-tfrawt.	"the ubac of the hollow of the basin."
Amettul n-^{c}isa.	"the field of A'ssa."	Tinummar umençur.	"the adrets of A."

[Agersili]

/Continuation of p. 194 of the original source./

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Tigh^{w}za-y-an.	"the parcels."	Ddu-wdaghas.	"under the shelter."
Ag^{w}erregg^{w}in.	"between the séguias."	Bu-yilf.	"the place with the wild boar."
Alkawsu.	"the billhook."	Targa wammas.	"the séguia of the willows."
Iz'ma-an.	"the meadows."	Uggug n-trga wammas.	"the head of the séguia ..."
Ighzer ulberj.	"the ravine of the château."	Imezughan.	"red earth."
Imi n-tghersi.	"the mouth of the sacrifice."	Talat n-tfrawt.	"the hollow of the basin."
Asaru y-imezran.	"the ditch of I."	Bu-lkhukh.	"that with the peach trees."
Targa y-Irz'.	"the séguia of I."	F-takuj'j'ut.	(improper word).
Tirwil.	"narrow band of parcels enclosed between several séguias."	Timezgida n-f-irazaten.	"the mosque of Firazaten" (araza: cleared land).
Uggug i-ymi y-iz'ma.	"the barrier to the entrance of the grasslands."	Badis.	(proper name).
F-yighil-an.	"on this crest."	Timutar-an.	"kind of genista."
		Taghuni.	"the cascade."
		Ighzer n-ait-Ali.	"the ravine of the a. A."

[Agersili]

/From p. 195 of the original source./

Toponymy of Agersili

b) Right bank

• 103

Toponyms	Approximate meaning	Toponyms	Approximate meaning
Targa n-tussa-irh'h'alen.	"the séguia of the esplanade of the nomads."	Talat Umghar.	"the hollow of the chief."
Targa n-talburt.	"the séguia of the field in the dry."	Targa w-umalu n-talat u-wmghar.	"the séguia of the ubac of the hollow of the chief."
Amalu.	"the ubac."	Imi n-tegsart-an.	"the outlet of the steep."
Targa w-umalu.	"the s. of the ubac."	Targa-wan-ammr-an.	"the s. of the adret."
Awerz u-wmalu.	"the fine sand of the shade."	Talat i-Yburk.	"the hollow of I."
Berqiqch.	"the plums."	Ddu-ws^{w}g-glegh.	"under the flagstones with salt."
Talat g-ys^{w}g-gligh.	"the hollow of the flagstones where one puts salt for the flocks" (asswgglagh).	Idughas u-wgerd'-an.	"the shelters of the butte."
Amalu n-dduwgadir.	"the ubac of the under side of the fortress."		
Asaru l-Ibaz.	"the ditch of the falcon."		

[Agersili]

103 /Continuation of p. 195 of the original source./

Ddu-turirt.	"under the hill."
Tanikt.	"stone having the appearance of the remains of smelting."
Targa n-tanut.	"of the entrance of the small well."
Amalu y-imi n-tanut.	"the ubac of the entrance of the small well."
Talggut-an.	"kind of genista."
Targa n-dduwgerd'an.	"the s. of the under side of the buttes."
Isdram.	"the escarpments."
Targa w-umalu y-imi y-iz'ma.	"the s. of the ubac of the entrance of the meadows."
Awerz i-ymi y-iz'ma.	"the fine sand of the entrance of the meadows."
Imi n-talat uwmghar.	"the entrance of the hollow of the chief."

[Agersili]

/196 cont./

423 613 In either case, the analysis of landed property thus leads to the question of the relation of the families and of the minor ikhs-s, between them, on the one hand, with the genealogical memory of the taqbilt, on the other, and finally with the landed and agricultural structure. A complex and obscure relation, but, very certainly, a relation.

The Quarters

311 423 Relatively precise measurements give, for the irrigated part of Agersili, 42 ha. Thus, each of the 27 quarters covers on the average 1.55 ha. A considerable size in the high-mountain economy; it is triple of what we observed among the closely neighboring a. Mh'nd. On the other hand, the toponyms are very [103] clear. One realizes that from the list above, which does not leave room for any etymological speculation, but simply notes the meaning immediately perceived and translated by the user. This list includes, besides the 27 quarters, 48 other names, which are the subdivisions of them. There are chances that the enumeration is not exhaustive. But there, too, the impression of a density with meshes larger than for the a. Mh'nd, expressing more freedom of space, asserts itself. These subdivisions into quarters do not enter into consideration, it seems, for the play of the soles, characteristic of Agersili. Their true nature is thus more complex, and doubtlessly destined to escape us. They are perhaps the trace of an earlier system, more refined and where the sampling of the lots went still further. Perhaps, on the contrary, they offered historical arrangements only a raw and pre-existent material.

/197/ Agriculture

241 The average area of the parcel is 120 m^2 on irrigated land: on that, one can arrive at a fairly exact approximation. This figure has a symptomatic value.

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/203 cont./

423 311 2) The whole of the ground making up about 40 hectares, each quarter, on the average, is a little more than one hectare. But there are great inequalities. The largest ones are split up into several toponyms. One, Ibh'ir, includes up to 6 of them. [103] Four of them include five each. The subjoined table gives the details.

3) The area of the average irrigated parcel is some two [243] a., as at Z'init'. Maize constantly follows barley in the lower band, and only depending upon the available lands on the upper [592] level stretch. Let us note that each foyer possesses about 10 parcels on the average. But there are great inequalities: lords' country, worn-out country, changing country.

103 4) Of 110 toponyms, there are not 20 that remain unintelligible: the majority still refer evidently to proper names. All the others are understood and immediately translated into Arabic by the local informant, if he is bilingual. This clearness is a constant of the genre. Still it is necessary to note that it is quite particularly keen here. If some names of things have assumed an antiquated or exotic color, it is scarcely. In the sense of "tamarisk," for example, one finds side by side tammachin, which is the local word, and ammayn, which is the word used in the Sous, unused here in this sense. Certain proper names recall historic or legendary memories: Ujjiin would have been a settler of the Demsira; Tawillult, a Portuguese woman. To these legendary settlers is also attributed the name of Bukris in the same quarter. Most of the other names naturally refer to /204/ /left side of table appears here/ /205/ /right side of table appears here/ /206/ /continuation of table appears here/ /207/ topographical details and agriculture. The table opposite /pp. 286-288/ indicates under each the explanation that is spontaneously given for it by the local peasant.

178 Thus, then, despite the weakness of this sector, exposed to the attacks of mountain and plain, accessible to the influences of the latter, and in some ways already denatured in its customs, the agrarian order that one ascertains here is that of the higher cantons. Now, not only has this territory not offered for at least

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/Left side of table, p. 204 of the original source./

Toponymy of the ait Musa Ufella

• 103

Names of quarters	Names of subdivisions of quarters	
Tamselnt.	Taryat't' n-Âli u Buzid, "the small orchard of A."	Azerg u Âli, "the mill of A."
Ammayn, "the tamarisks."	Tigid'it, "the small pile."	Tachbenit, "the flat (of flowers)," cf. jbâniya.
Imi Umaslan, "the outlet of A."	Taz'mut, "the grassland."	Tikʷerkur, "at the pile of flints."
Ameslen.	Imi y-ighzer wazar n-Çalh', "the outlet of the ravine of fig trees of."	Agʷd'ey Umeslen, "the filled pond of A."
Ddu-Wanghemmi, "under the ighemmi (plant)."	Akriwn-an, "the pebbles."	Tammachin "the tamarisks."
Tkunt, "the clay."	Bu-ilalen, "the pink laurel."	Imi n-Taryat't', "the outlet of the orchard."
Targa meqqurn, "the great ditch."	Dar-tazzuntit, "at the olive tree."	It'u Bujmâ (name).
Ager-ggiwn, "between the séguias."	Id Bella u-Jac. (proper name)	Mm-ulili, "the one with the pink laurel."
Igidar, "the fortresses."	Tugg Lgʷni.	Tijuffa, "the fires of joy."
Imi n-talat, "the outlet of the hollow."	Lmercht, "the bog."	Mosgʷin, "where the irrigation is centered."
Berra imlaln-an, "out of these fine sands."	Dar tasafsaft, "at the poplar tree."	Ikri n-Si Mulid, "the pebbles of S."
Imiri y-igʷrramen, "the low wall of the marabouts."	Afus n-ghonja, "the handle of the spoon."	
Ddu-Wjjin, "under U."	Imiri Lah'sen u-Menâim, "the low wall of L."	Tawrirt u-wjjin, "the hill of U."
Tikid'a n-ait Brahim, "the carob tree of the a. B."	Izemran n-Âisa, "the oleasters of A."	
Talat n-teddart, "the hollow of the apiary," or "the depression toward Teddart."	Lmercht, "the bog."	Amlal n-zzit, "the fine sand of the olive trees."

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/Right side of table, p. 205 of the original source./

Lâin n-Beikhir, "the source of."	Bu Lbruj, "the fortresses."	Tammachin n-ait H'mmu, "the tamarisks of."
Imi y-ifri w-umach-cho, "the outlet of the basin of the red earth."	Tigzirt-an, "the peninsula, the intermediate."	Uggugn-an, "these barriers."
Timetlin, "the parcels."		
Azar u-War^{c}awch, "the fig tree of A."	Ddu-Jaghenna (name of spirit).	
Ighin n-Aziza, "the sluice of."		
Azar u-wd'erd'ur, "the fig trees of the deaf."		
Imi y-igidar, "the outlet of the fortress."	Tad'hurin, "the overhangs."	
Akhlij n-ait Sâdun, "the bush of the a. S."	Askawn i-yzimmer, "the horns of the ram."	
Lârrach, "the vine-trellises."		
Uz'z'u^{w} i-ysemgan, "the plant of the slaves."	Ddu-lberj, "under the fortress."	

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/From p. 206 of the original source./

Toponymy of the ait Musa Ufella (cont.)

Names of quarters	Names of subdivisions of quarters				
Ibh'ir, "the field."	Asdrem, "the escarpment."	Amensif i-ybh'ir, "place fertilized by the water and the alluvia."	Ikwerkwaren, "the piles of flints."	Tughlit, "the steep climb."	Turgha wazwaw, "covered enclosure of A."
Ddu-wgwadir, "under the fortress."	Imi n-Tsukt, "the outlet of the street."	Ddu-inraranan, "under the threshing floors."			
Inebdar, "under the watch" (plur. of anebdur).	Ddu-Tmugwal, "under the relief."	Imi n-Tobnekha (name of a small valley of bad omen)	Imi i-lqus, "the entrance of the arch."	Amlal, "the fine sand."	
Aryad'en, "the orchards."	Dar-Tefrawt, "at the small basin."	Tawulult.	Taryat't'Umkuku, "the orchard of A."	Taryat't' Uyanin, "the orchard of A."	Bukris.
Imejjad'an, "the scurfy persons."	Ag"d'ay n-tazarin, "dell of the fig trees."	Ddu y-iferd, "under the reservoir."			
Lmegzart, "the slaughterhouse."	Imi y-ighin, "the outlet of the intake."	Megzar-ufella, "the slaughterhouse above."			
Dar waswik, "at the walnut tree."	Ibh'ir u-Waz'i, "the field of."	F-ucheddir-an, "on this bush."	Usulan, "at the calcareous flagstones."		
Lemkhazin, "the hiding places."	Id-mm-ifzi, "those at the ifzi (kind of rock)."	Id Abdelmalk (proper name).	Lfis's'at-an, "the lucerne field."		
Imi n-Tebratjut, "the outlet of the road."	Ger igharasen, "between the roads."	Tirit u Fars, "the parcel of the u F."	Ger-ikad'iwn, "between the carob trees."	Tikid'ut i-ysemgan, "the carob tree of the slaves."	
Iussran (hagiological name).	Tirit-uyyis, "the parcel of the horse."	Tasukt uz'ru, "the street of the rock."	Tamalut-en, "the ubac."	Talat w-Wardes, "the hollow of A."	Ighzer n-ait Wakrim, "the ravine of the a. W."

/From p. 206 of the original source./

[Bul^{c}wân]

/212 cont./

18! a transition /213/ between the mountain culture and the plains culture, is duplicated there by a political threshold. Politics has almost immediate effects on the Maghrebi structures. Power is, in different respects, an economic phenomenon. It entails rapid and visible consequences on the landscape: either by the elimination of the little ones, or -- and the case is frequent in the South of Morocco -- by aspects of systematic valorization: plantings, for example.

245 In fact, the grounds of Bul^{c}wân and of Taqennurt present in their lower part beautiful and old checkerworks of olive trees, under which are cultivated intercalary crops. It is the formula of the "park" or of the "closed garden," agellay. Above the denivellation that the Talh'archt channel follows, almond trees are similarly massed. This division by "wooded masses," which one also characteristically finds again upstream, at Tuz'z'umt, a. Wagenna, etc., undoubtedly does not correspond solely to agronomic opportunities. It is true that the olive tree requires more water and an alluvial ground, while the almond tree, on the contrary, puts up with dryness and stones if necessary. But even more this divison of species obeys a rural order, more and more perfect types of which are found in Seksawa as one approaches the high mountains. What makes one think of a regalian influence in the formation of the olive plantation is its homogeneity, which undoubtedly shows an initially controlled effort, and its regular growth. One might make the same verifications in Nfifa at Imintanout, in Mtugga at Kuzemt. For this last planting, we perhaps shall get to localize it in history. But what is to be said about the olive plantations of Taroudant or of El Kelâa?

a) Fuq Bul^{c}wân

241 311 A few figures: about 2,000 olive trees and 5,000 almond trees. Irrigated autumn crops: barley 20 ha., hard wheat 6 ha., soft wheat 2 ha. Spring crops (but without rotation order): maize 12 ha. This plaque of about 30 ha. is divided into quarters, that is, from upstream to downstream: Talilit, Ikorkar, Dar

[103]

[Bul^{c}wân]

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241 311 103 tgommi ufella, Talat l-lâin, Lh'arch n-a. Belh'âjj, Agellay n-Ali u Mançur, n-a. Benjâa, Talburt, Lh'arch n-Bihi u Sâîd. These quarters follow one another on the plane of earth that goes from the ighzer, "ravine," l-H'ed to the Ighzer n-Berka u ^{c}Ali. Downstream the following quarters follow one another: Agellay n-ait Sâid, Lh'ufert n-a. Bella, n-a. Chuh'u, n-a. Bihi Sâid, Ichkajen, a. L^{c}anayt. And one arrives at the route from the Dir.

311 312 Thus, then, we have, for about 30 hectares, 16 quarters of about 2 ha. each; thus, they are spacious. On the other hand, a very important matter -- they do not always correspond to "principal intakes," içdar, from the channel. The number of the latter is very high: 28 for only the section of the Talh'archt going from one ravine to another. From these intakes depart ditches, called lmçâref here. They serve, according to irregular lines, parcels that are irregular and situated at different levels of the [103] declivity. No correspondence between the irrigation technique and the toponymy.

312 178 [624] The distribution system for the water is new; it succeeds an older one, the origin of which cannot be stated precisely. Formerly, the Talh'archt was /214/ managed on the general plane of all the ait Abdella that it serves (that is, in particular Tuz'z'umt and Ilutjan included) by an amazzel who would deliver the water according to the needs of such-and-such land. A choice necessarily arbitrary, and thus being possibly amenable to only two hypotheses: either a rigorous agrarian order, wiping out, in a functional unanimity, competition between individuals; or, on the contrary, authority of a chief replacing the village institution. We lean toward the first hypothesis. At a later time (control over the powers of the amghar by the Protectorate), this system was broken up, and the water distributed by "units," ferdiyat, according to a practice apparently widespread. The beneficiaries of these units were henceforth no more than territorial entities, such as Bul^{c}wân or Taqennurt, considered as villages. However that may be, the ground of Bul^{c}wân henceforth had at its disposal 2.5 ferdiyat: that is, 30 hours. But it is necessary to note that under [624] these reduced proportions and within these 30 hours, the

[Bul^{c}wân]

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312 178 [624] distribution was done neither according to ikhs nor according to groupings of parcels, but remained subject to the estimation of the amazzel. Neither gentilitial order nor topographic order, but, if one may say it, purely agricultural order, and subject to a troubling, or affecting, power of estimation. We again find there the incidence of political variations on the agrarian regime. Every time, the rising power judges irrational and reforms the previous practice. The amghar reacts against the community institution, and the modern administration against the amghar. But at each of these stages, a portion of the authentic organization survives. Although broken, and each time on a more modest plane.

• 103 The analysis of the names of the quarters provides still other indications.

First, one finds there the elements of a classification of the ground: the h'arch, "the aspre" /see p. 296/, on one hand, the h'ofra, "basin," on the other, with assignment of a part of the one and of the other to different subjects, which indeed appear as collective subjects: Ichkajjen, ait Bihi u Sâid. But the symmetry is limited to these two cases. What is more striking is that, out of 16 names, 11 express these vocations of appurtenance. The so-striking descriptive aspect of the names of quarters in the mountains is not found here, except for a fourth of the designations, which is not much.

It is difficult to conclude anything from such indications, except mixture and erosion. Nevertheless a look at the parceling of Bul^{c}wân, South part, appraisable at about 20 hectares, permits 794 184 supposing certain regularities. The fact that the great institution protective of the patrimonial immutability in the mountains, the habous /wakf/, is not found here is all the more suggestive. It is so rare in all the a. Abdella that its rare appearances in the upstream villages, such as Iminteghli or Ilutjan, do not truly enter into the mores. The mobilization of the lands thus does not clash with any juridical restraint.

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121 [423] about the type of appropriation of land that, in the majority of the examples known, corresponds to the tree and water techniques: that is, the privative form. Such a singularity should not be set aside a priori, any more than a likewise persistent reminder of primitive communitarian modalities. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the willing climate of this life, the effort, systematic and localizable at a certain moment in the past, which the construction of the grounds often expresses, one also evokes [613] conscious divisions among subjects of law. The occupation and improvement of the soil conquered or created at all points over the wasteland, the forest, the slope have been able to bring as a corollary their balanced distribution among participants: these subgroups, called ikhs-s, and which would be united among themselves by connections of a type complicated in a manner other than consanguinity. It is also possible that this plural equilibrium expresses a readjustment of the group, its reaction against an external threat or internal decadence.

Order of work or social reform, this type of division is presented to us at a recent epoch. It reflects a spirit at the same time ratiocinating and communitarian, altruistic and responsible, of which this inquiry will observe the constant manifestation. Thus it is that the Idma, having recovered their Tasselli territory from the a. H'adduyws, redistributed it. At Tabratjut, the old [691] order was re-established, but not without alterations, at the close of a litigation with wild perturbations. Other examples might be cited. They abound in the daily jurisprudence of the jemâa-s.

What we have called "the parcellary orchestration" could thus arise from a stage of origin or more modern arrangements. Ethnological hypothesis or historical hypothesis: let us not choose between the two for the moment.

The Coefficient of Breadth

103 The humanity of the high valleys invests in its tiny domain enormous expenditures of energy: work, organization, and also denominations. Because the concentration of the toponymy there

103 /228/ expresses exactly that of the other works. It is even the easiest indication to grasp. The density of the names designates that of the communal life. In such villages we follow it indeed beyond the cadre, still restricted, of the quarter. There is nothing that says that elsewhere or in other times it could not be followed even further: down to the smallest parcel. This ground is thus like a body where each atom would assume, besides its function, a name. What levity of matter in all that!

423 The essential notion of quarter escapes almost any topographical definition. In the irrigated at least, where the quarter is not a piece of landscape identifiable by natural accidents. In order to answer to this definition it needs large epaulement terraces where dry crops and pastures spread out. Certainly, even in the irrigated, it has an area approximately measurable, varying with the grounds. Whoever says area should say limits, readable for the naked eye. Often, in fact, the quarter corresponds to a physiognomy. Now its minuscule individuality results from traits such as the strength of the crops, the hue of the vegetation, the assemblage of the parcels, which one feels instinctively, but which, let us be careful, proceed from this individuality rather than determine it.

423 312 It is possible that the progress of the analysis will succeed in giving an account of the more or less large number of quarters, that is, in the case in point, of sluices echeloned along the ditch, by the echeloned working of the irrigations. Or that roughly the division of the ground yields, as in the case of the parcel-strips of the open field, to a concern to equalize the parts qualitatively. The embanked relief would have made an irregular checkerboard preferable to a geometry of long rectangles. But none of these explanations by topography, technique, or distributive equity succeeds in completely accounting for the notion. What is incontestable is the disproportion that thus asserts itself within the ground between such a profusion of appellations and such a poverty of mass.

121 423 [103] This contrast is certainly general, and characteristic of the milieu. But the density of the names, itself announcer of the social density, is it the same everywhere? Even though this might touch upon a matter that has hardly been explored in North Africa,

/355 cont./

175 423 691 This new element will have made the analysis progress. It results from written testimony, and by no means from hypotheses more or less subject to caution. It reveals, in the comings and goings of the man, due to the difficulties of the times, a constancy that attaches it to a ground, and is not without aspects of a magico-religious order. This bond can survive the most violent vicissitudes. On the condition, undoubtedly, that the name survives. [103] The primacy and the extreme conservation /356/ of toponyms in this part of the Atlas are perhaps the reason that this persistent legitimacy can be observed here to a degree unequaled, it seems, in the rest of North Africa.

The last of these acts also supplies an important element. It is seen here that the equilibrium between the group and the ground may undergo modifications because of the intervention of the group. [613] Consequently who knows if the patrimonial representation of the ikhs-s in the quarters does not reflect deliberate initiatives and, in short, measures of application of the first law?

425 However that may be, permanence and agitations of the landed life are fashioned according to figures that it will not be from an overly systematic logic to call tied between them. Now the instrument of the exchanges here is money: that which is [436] amassed on the spot and that which is fetched from the outside. This is the double aspect of a monetarism that forms the unity among the so-called contradictory, and at the very least contrasting, aspects of the milieu. How these different economic or moral factors are ordered is what we are now going to try to elucidate.

Patrimonial Legitimacy Versus Possession

428 And first of all the notion of patrimony exists in this society. The law, like the mores, expressly refers to it. This is the ddment [192] (1).

1. From the Arabic ad-dimna, plur. diman, "place smoked by the proximity of the

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423 182 of the a. Mh'and includes parcels accruing to six ikhs-s, at the same time that it constitutes a cultural unit and a precise visual motif.

• 103 182 On a higher echelon the names of quarters assemble in more general toponyms those of the grounds: thus for Tamgonsi, Agersili, Tassila, etc. But it happens that the toponym is lacking: then only the name of the group makes the link for the names of quarters: thus for the irrigated cuvette of the a. Mh'nd. This is only the tamazirt n-a. Mh'nd, without any other appellation. In this case, it is true, three notions tend to be confused: the agricultural one, of ground; the other one political, of bounds; the third geographical, of country. Such a meeting is rather rare. The more so as reality never lends itself to trenchant definitions. Forms react on one another, take one another's place. And it is not as far as the agglomeration of habitat -- whatever the mediocrity of its social signification may habitually be here -- which plays its role in the large classifications of the landscape. Thus one will hear a section of valley designated as "the land of Tannsmekht," for example, tamazirt n-Tnnsmekht. And nevertheless it is but a hamlet without veritable identity. It is absorbed, with others, in the personality of the Idma. Moreover, the expansion of the latter assembled a large number of countries not having any physical or onomastic unity among them: "Idma domain," tamazirt i-ydma.

101 103 On an even higher echelon the geographical cadre can exceed even extended applications of the name of the group. Then larger structural realities come into play. They make of the canton, and especially of the ramified system of a large valley, a unit surpassing the political order. History, however, is interested in organizing it in terms of this order, and finally in resolving it there. Thus, the name of Seksawa corresponds today above all to the cadre of a fluvial basin, a system obviously larger than /414/ that of any of the taqbilt-s crowded there. Further it is known that in the great epoch this cadre could express a vigorous political ensemble. But it is not the same everywhere. The name of the Gedmiwa, quite close, is far from

/414 cont./

101 covering the whole basin of the asif el-Mâl. In the case of the
103 neighboring valley, this marking by a great medieval name is not even possible any more. One knows no more, and for the mere convenience, it seems, than "people of the Nfis," ait n-Nffis. Unless one includes them, significantly, in the recent "Gund'afa"...

Levels of the Social Organization

619 The Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is not a federation of families.
634 It exists in and of itself, is not in the least resolved -- as it may
613 be in other Maghrebi domains -- in a balance of gentes. The
182 study of its penal law does not leave any doubt in this regard. At the same time as a striking maturity, it reveals the primacy of the public order over the familial defense: honor, vendetta, composition or retaliation. The luxuriant genre of the codifications indicates a stage which is that of the applied penalty, of decreed indemnification. Not only does the system circumscribe and suppress the gentilitial initiative, as may be the case in Kabylia, but it substitutes itself. Similarly, although the political course of the taqbilt does not entirely suppress the role of the ikhs-s, it is that of a democracy alternating with the tyrannical phenomenon, and not that of an assembly of "Roman senators." Even though the weight of age, of wealth, of alliances, quite like that of kinship or of the prestiges of familial order, compensate for its tumultuous propensity, it is not a "senate" that deliberates here, but a crowd. All the more, the meeting place is never a building, as in Kabylia, but an esplanade. Such signs count.

Certainly, external influences and internal evolutions were able to act on the system differently, according to the matter and the case at hand. Many dissimilarities are thus explained. Today we very likely only have access to a stage of unequal wear and tear according to the parts, but further and especially of alterings. Such as it is, among the Seksawa as in the rest of the Chleuh /Shluh/ region, the taqbilt stood out all the more as the function of the ikhs was reduced to -- or re-established in -- its

1: Berque--579 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

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A Third Element of the Analysis:
The Name (3)

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3. The toponyms: these "fossils of human geography," as was said by J. Brunhes, Géographie humaine de la France, 1920, t. I, p. 289.

System of place names and system of group names are entangled according to a gradation and correspondences still /417/ readable between the quarter, the ground, and the canton, on the one hand, the ikhs and the taqbilt on the other. On superposed levels, divisions and subdivisions correspond to each other from one order to the other. The human civil state and the civil state of the space intersect, so to speak, their effects, each prevailing according to the level.

At the base, the "parcel" has almost no local substance, but a reality almost purely anthroponymic. It is a fluvial system that prevails at the summit, to the point that great collective designations like our Seksawa are perhaps only geographical expressions. In any case, in the intermediary degrees, the "group" corresponds to the "ground." The "quarter" expresses an equilibrium that forms influences and reflects, between the collectivity and the land, a complex appropriation conferring upon it complete consistency. In this privileged case, local definition and social definition are conjugated, leaning on each other, so to speak.

Now this entire toponymy, and not only that of the named places, but more profoundly the one that intimate exchanges with the man push to the most extreme detail, is original. Singularly the names of quarters, for which an almost constant intelligibility has been noted, within larger and less clear meshes, are evidence of a direct linguistic authenticity. How valuable an indication(1)!

1. Cf. L. Febvre, "Histoire et dialectologie," R. de synthèse historique, t. XII, p. 249.

/417 cont./

121 One will recall the imaginative inductions that suggested to
103 Renan, in his Histoire du peuple d'Israël, the genius of Semitic
182 languages and their alleged inaptitude for mythology. If today such ideas are contradicted or obsolete, the value of interpretation and or of comparison of the philology has only grown. I need as proof of this only the very recent contributions to the study of societies by its latest discipline, phonology (2).

2. For example, in the Structures élémentaires de la parenté /Elementary kinship structures/, by Cl. Levi-Strauss, 1949, p. 611, and all the work of L. Gernet.

103 In this sense, the agrarian toponymy of the Seksawa, with its
182 density, its implications with the communal organization, and its Berbère /Berber/ integrity, can furnish its contribution to new investigations. Let us observe, for example, that in these two series of names corresponding to the structural echelons of the group on the one hand, of the landscape on the other, the value of the signifier /Fr. signifiant/ (3)

3. One apologizes for this technical term, recently spread by the tr. of the book by N. S. Troubetzkoy, Principes de Phonologie, tr. J. Cantineau, 1949, p. 2.

is not equal everywhere.

The anthroponymy in fact expresses precise contents whether it /418/ is a matter of the person, the foyer, the ikhs, the taqbilt. Beyond this, however, the connotation is more vague. It comes to not having any more than a variable value, one of the terms of this variation possibly tending toward what the linguists call "degree zero." Such is the case for forms whose wording often recurs in North African science: "tribe," "confederation,"

/418 cont./
coff, leff (1).

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1. Cf. J. Berque, "Qu'est-ce qu'une 'tribu' nord-africaine? /What is a North African 'tribe'?/," Mélanges L. Febvre, 1954, t. 1, pp. 261 sq.

On the contrary, spatial denominations, founded basically on the prodigious richness of words designating the organs of the field, carry a precise meaning, up to the highest echelons. The name of Tamgonsi, of Tassila, of Ibuban arouses the clearest images. And also that of Seksawa, envisaged as that of a hydrographic basin. Hazy on the contrary, and irreducible to analysis, if one has it suggest a human ensemble which would be defined by something other than precisely the name and the habitat. Nothing else in fact, on this level, that explains, for the Seksawa, the exact nature of this formation.

The Taqbilt of the Haut Atlas: A Pole of Explication

(634)
(619)

In the taqbilt, on the contrary, a group structure is organized with a country structure. The names are both the sign and the agent of this organization. Would it be to strain the expression to say at what point the originality of such a form resides in the combination that takes place there between linguistics and geography? If the synthesis is meticulous here and full of orders of things for which the North African societies never offer discovery of the same genre, at least of the same degree, the study of these societies will have available a useful criterion merely to measure in them the presence or absence, the incoherence or connection of these various elements.

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An example: the ideas of bounds, of ground, of quarter are found more or less in all the countrysides of the Maghreb. I pass by the idea of named place, in which one confuses them, often wrongly. But nowhere up to here, other than in the Haut-Atlas,

/418 cont./

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103 has one been able to observe the astonishing adjustment that they can reach. Thus, in the plains and on the hills of the Gharb, a toponymic network covers the whole countryside. Its meaning is all the more obscure since it does not usually correspond to a visual division. The landscape is homogeneous and diffuse. Whence the unintelligibility of facts for which the Chleuh /Shluh/ country offers an immediate explication. Remainder that, were it in the grounds with profound /419/ landed-property disaggregation, like the Gharb, the study of laws which govern situations and landowner ambitions between rival units, and of the figure that they assume on the soil thus disputed, would be fruitful. This study has never been attempted. It would undoubtedly cause one to plunge very deeply into the knowledge of "Arab" groups, manifestly imported into the country -- the Sofyân and the Beni Mâlek --, but whose comportment nonetheless corresponds, we believe, to such characteristics as we have tended to attribute a bit too exclusively to the "Berbères." Certainly the populations of the Gharb were neither very anciently nor very well established. Their struggle for identity is not the one observed in the Haut-Atlas: a dialogue between group names and place names. It is that of a genealogical interpretation. And our sociology grasped it as such already more than half a century ago. Calling in question what the indigenous explanation obstinately attributes -- at least so one believed -- to the community of origin, it has shown the major part of the successive additions that ended by forming, in spite of, but around an ancestor fiction, the very material of the group. This system bears, since E.-F. Gautier, who largely brought it out, the name of "biological" system. It is thus conveniently opposed to the European system, above all topographical, and with which it can maintain many eloquent antitheses. It is no less opposed to the system of the Haut-Atlas.

182 In fact, from the ikhs to the taqbilt, the interpretation by common ancestry touches only a minority of cases here. What counts is the connection between elements from all horizons. It is evident to the member of the group, and in practice is expressed by an agrarian order. This is a phenomenon quite different

Pl. II /Left side of plate./

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Z'init Panorama

The green-roofed sanctuary of Lalla Aziza (1) is surrounded by the tall houses of the foqra. On all sides, steep slopes rise toward the peak of the Tamjlocht (2) and the high brows of the Mzawt (3). On the right bank of the asif i-yseksawan a barred spur with the ruins of a citadel of the ait Gasa (4). It is the Agadir n-a. Hammu. /Continued on p. 646./

/Right side of plate./ Pl. II

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/Continued from p. 645./ -- Names of quarters: (5) Imdz'z'an; (6) Ighzer u Lh'h'yan; (7) Iunghasen; (8) Imi n-tssukt; (9) Ddu Tgumma; (10) Takriwin; (11) Amkuk; (12) Tighersiwin; (13) Tibh'irin; (14) Lfessât; (15) Imlalnan; (16) Tawunkht; (17) Ddu y-ikid'o; (18) Akhferga; (19) Ftchalacht; (20) Ddu Tizzirgi; (21) Ftelmechmacht; (22) Igad'iyin; (23) Talat i-ylâ (ravine). -- The bottom of the valley is about 1,100 meters in altitude.

/18 cont./

133 Atlantic to form two promontories and delineate the two bays of Agadir and Cape Guir. Farther to the north, one no longer finds high peaks, but only vast calcareous plateaus terminated toward north and east by abrupt cliffs, between which wind the deep gorges of the dry wadis. Still farther, toward Mogador, they are the dry hills of the Haha, whose appearance /19/ brightens only [137] on the banks of the Oued Qsob. The forest of argan trees and tuyas /thuyas/ stretches from south to north over the whole country from the mountains to the banks of the Tensift. The sadness and solitude that prevail there further add to the general desola-
361 tion. Life brightens up only in the hollow of the wadis, at the
133 points where the water crops out for an instant; then poor villages
[137] crowd one another on the steep banks, while in the gorges of the wadis thick clumps of palm trees enlaced with vines come out of the ravines. Elsewhere, on the plateaus, springs are almost ab-
[312] sent; each Berbère /Berber/ builds a house on an isolated hill and
[241] digs cisterns; in order to till, he clears the surrounding forest, burning the trees and brush over large areas.

133 There is no difficult obstacle, especially in the north and in
167 the west of this country, that can stop the passage of tribes that
619 have come from the Sahara or from the Anti-Atlas, driven toward the Gharb /Rharb/ by famine. Accordingly, this far zone of the Atlas is peopled in large part by families originally from the south. In the same way the Berbères /Berbers/ could not offer any lasting resistance to the passage of the Sultan's harkas coming from the north. The Haha, reduced to obedience long ago, have thus become the faithful servants of the Empire, and they have fought to make its power respected as far as the plains of the Sous, of the Chtouka, and of the Ait Ba ᶜAmran. The Ida ou Tanan alone, having taken refuge in the most inaccessible part of the territory, have tried to preserve their liberties by staying away from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

133 The mountain of the Sirwa, which the valleys surround so as
103 to draw a vast circle traced by the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, the Tidili, the Imini, and the ravines of the Aït ᶜAmer, also constitutes a natural refuge, whose appearance is indeed such as to

/19 cont./

133 deserve the name of "Igherm" -- fortress -- which the Ait
[103] Waouzgit like to give it.

This strange mass, in reddish hues, is dominated by isolated peaks that rise here and there in the middle of a huge volcanic plateau. Basalt ridges profile their fantastic lines in the sky, while at their feet large villages, dominated by immense storehouses, live under a hot sun, in the vicinity of sources of water fed by the melting of the snows of spring. It is on the flanks of
[361] this volcano that the confederation of the Ait Waouzgit has re-
[619] mained established for long centuries. Having descended /20/ from the plateau in order to colonize the valleys, the tribes of the Sirwa have moreover mingled with those of the two great chains in the vicinity, but without ever completely abandoning their traditions and their own characteristics.

The various parts of the Anti-Atlas are more difficult to separate from one another. To the east the chain is so worn down that only a few peaks of eruptive rocks exist as witnesses. This is the country of the vast plateaus of the Zenaga and Souktana, whose lands would be fertile if the sky did not already have the inexorable limpidity of the Sahara.

Farther on, in the central Anti-Atlas, between the valley of the Inda ou Zal and the territory of the Ait Abdallah and of the Ilalen, the mountains rise to form the peaks of the Fidoust and the Adrar Waklim at 2,200 meters in altitude, yet on the line of the crests the plateaus extend in a gentle slope on the two ver-
[361] sants. Here again a man's life is hard; the best harvests are poor, and only a few villages surrounded by almond trees prosper near the summits and springs. Toward the Sahara the wadis hollow out deep cuts, and the springs that sometimes appear in their dried-up beds support palm groves already similar in their external appearance to the ones of the Bani.

133 In a country so difficult, the problem of material subsistence
181 dominates all others. It absorbs all forces, and, since local re-
182 sources remain insufficient, temporary emigration becomes a pressing necessity. A man's energy is consumed in the course of
[166] this constant struggle; activity turns away from political life

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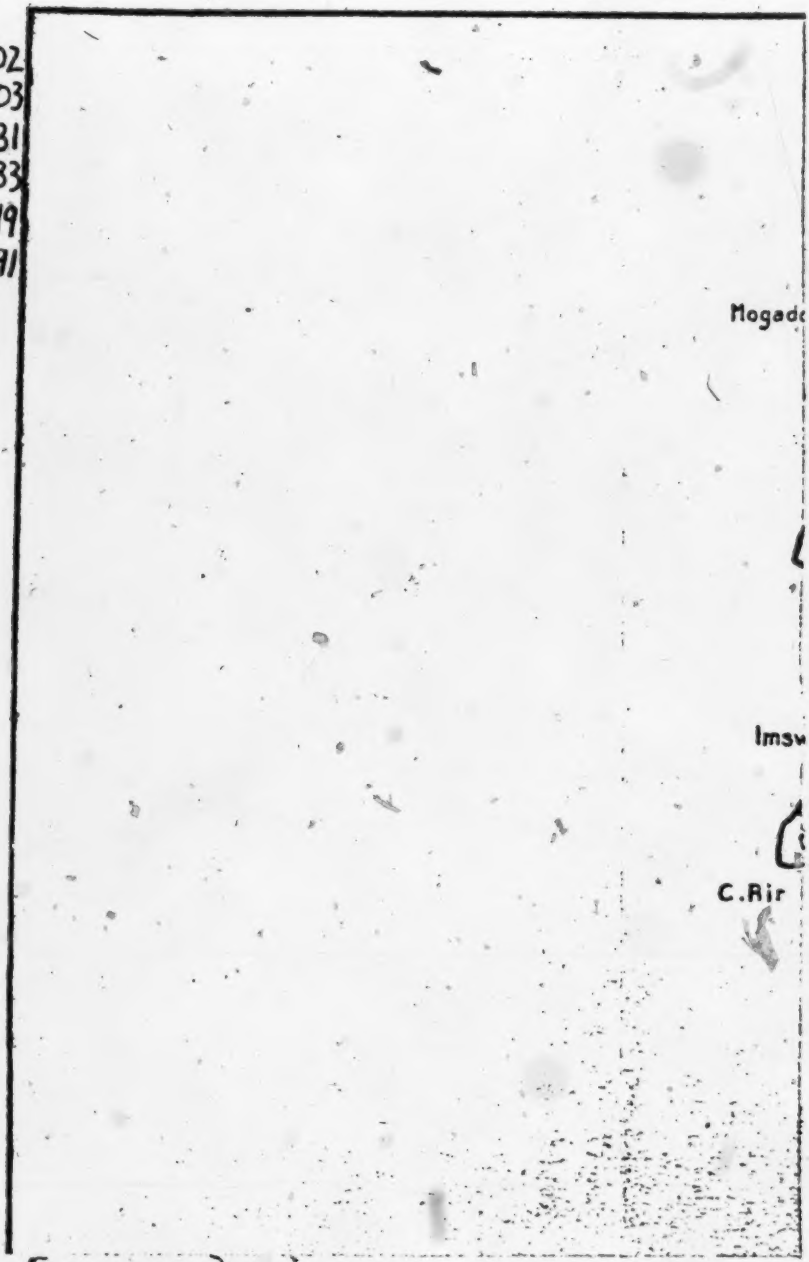
P. 26	P. 27	P. 28	P. 29
P. 30	P. 31	P. 32	P. 33

Chart of positions of map 1.
[facing p. 26]

2: Montagne--26 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/



[map 1]

/Upper left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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131
133
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[Map 1]

/Upper right-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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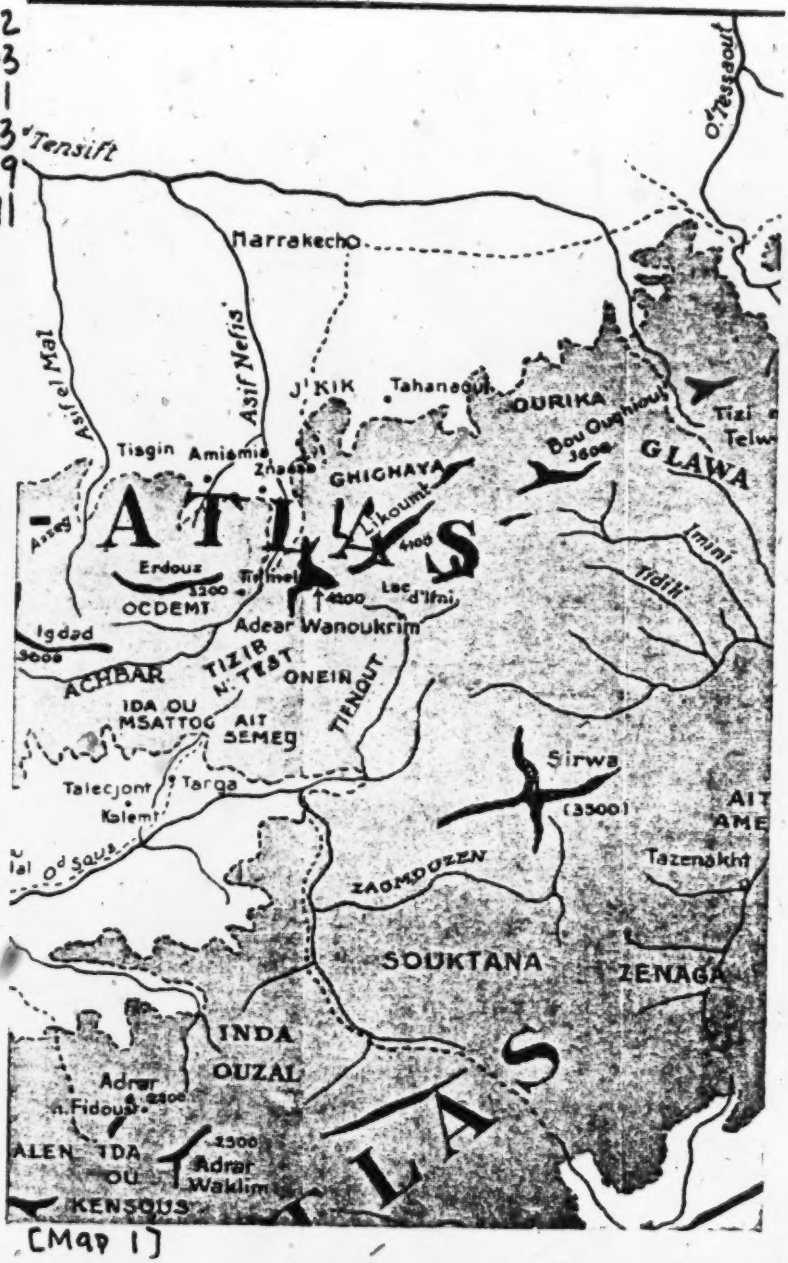

[Map 1]

/Upper right corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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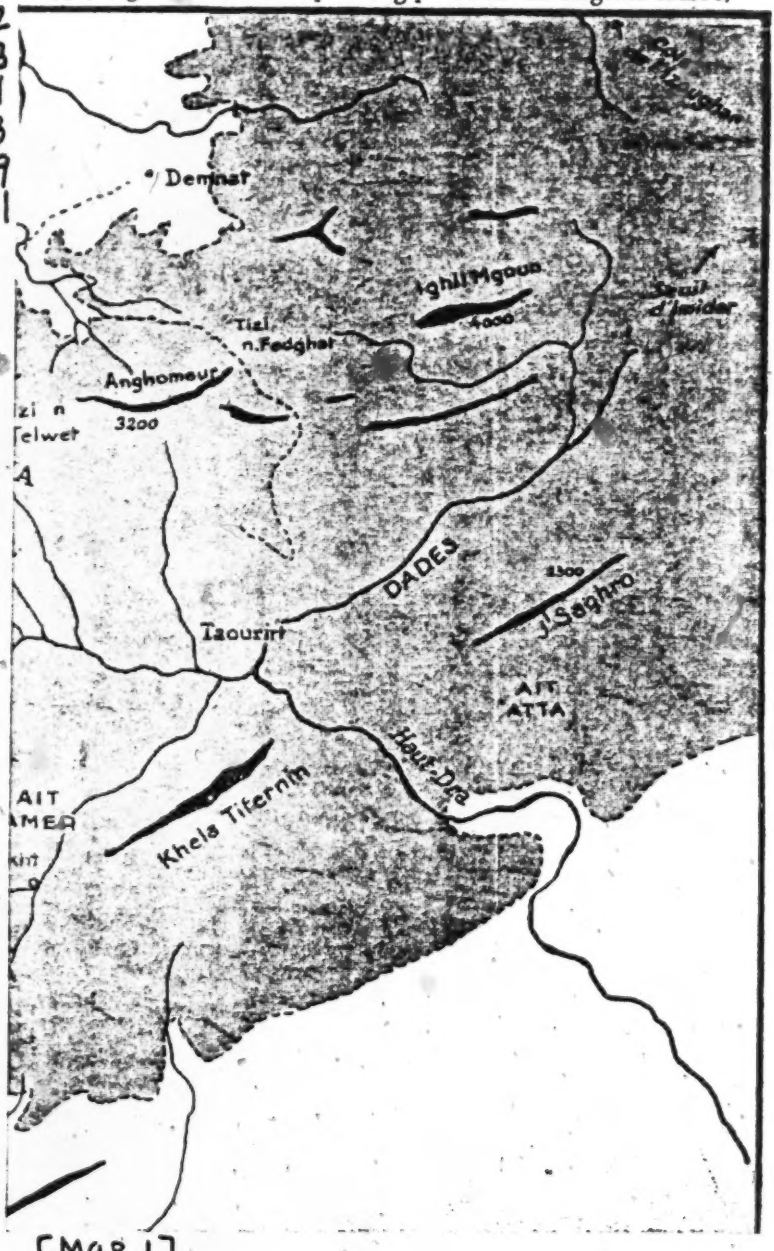

[MAP 1]

/Lower left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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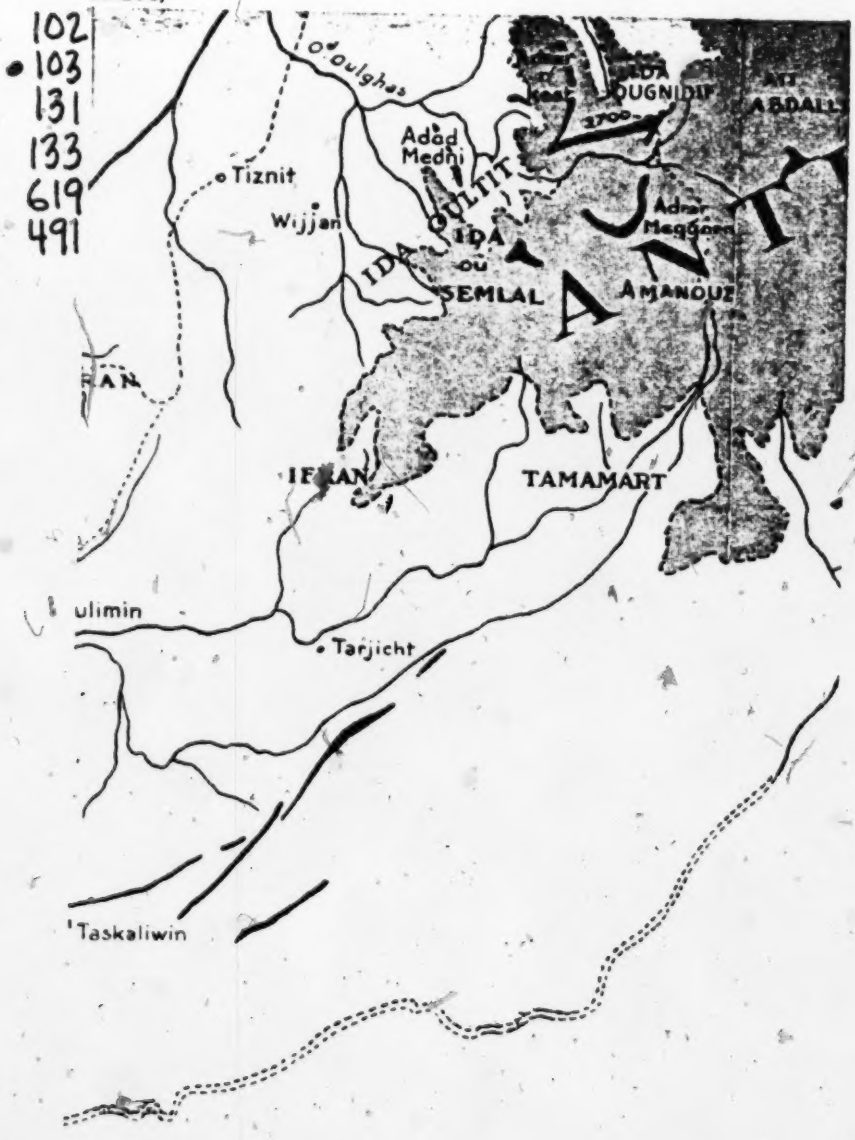
[MAP 1]

2: Montagne--31 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

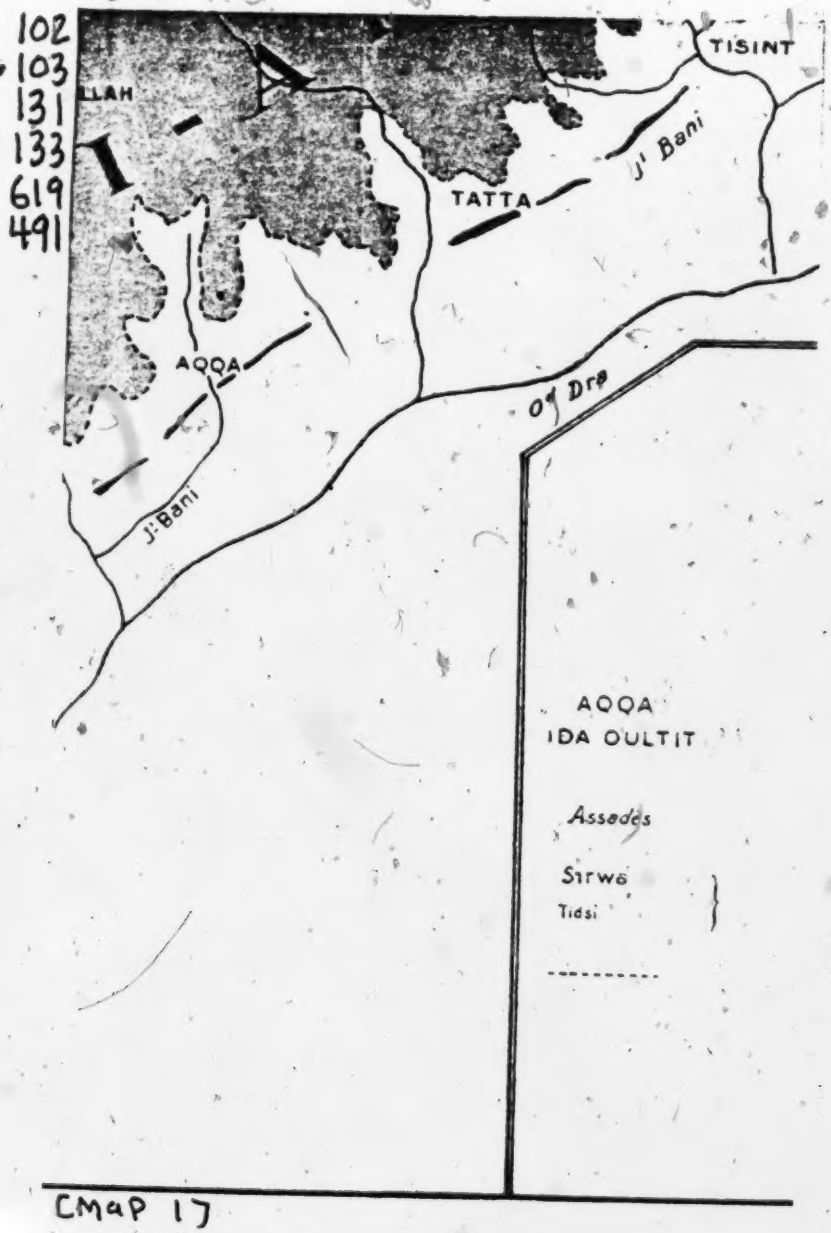
/Lower left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/



[MAP 17]

2: Montagne--32 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

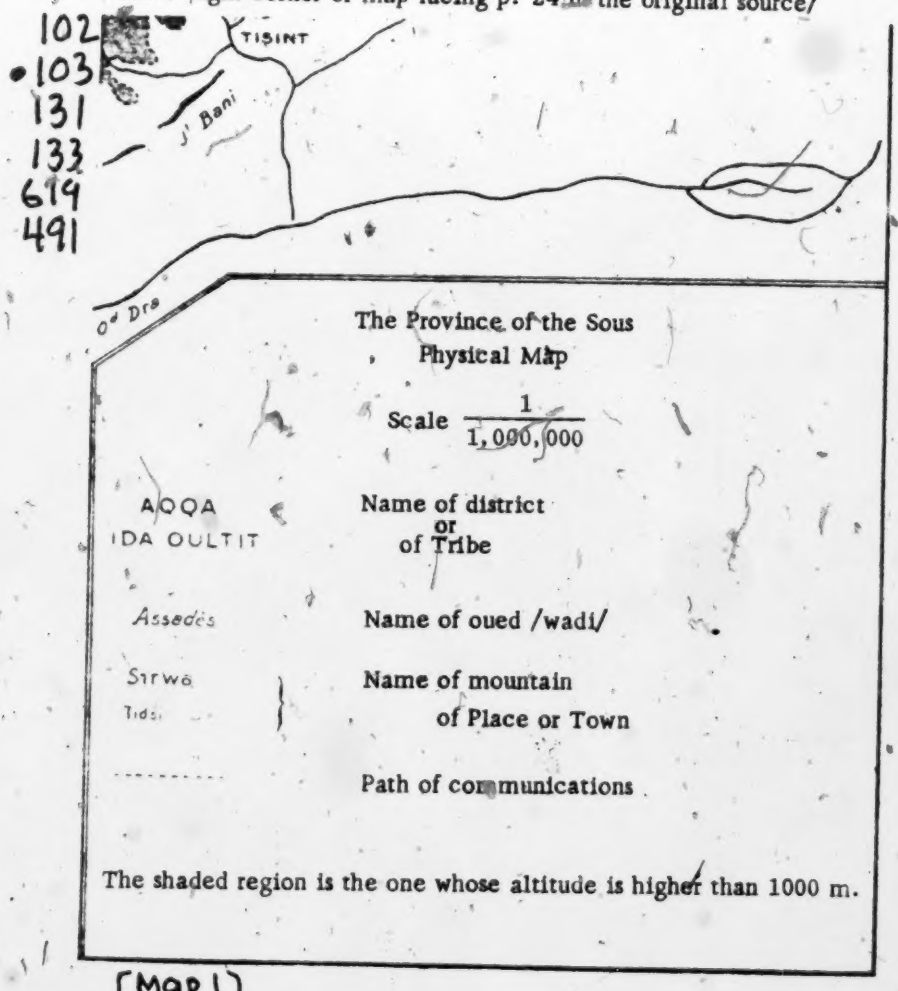
/Lower right-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/



CMap 17

2: Montagne--33 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower right corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/



[Map 1]

/74 cont./

*175 taken supreme authority by using the name of the Almohades. After hard fights the brother of the sultan Ya^{c}ich Ibn Ya^{c}qoub scattered the Beni Gommi and destroyed Taroudant (1).

[712]

1. Ibn Khaldoun, III, 493, IV, 164. -- Perhaps it is necessary to attribute to Ya^{c}ich Ibn Ya^{c}qoub the construction of the immense fortress which is still seen among the Aït A^{c}issi (Haha) on the Jebel Asles facing the territory of the Ida Ou Tanan. From its appearance it seems to date from the Mérinide period; tradition attributes it to Ali Ya^{c}ich, a personage about whom there are only imprecise legends. Tadert, the place where Ya^{c}ich Ibn Ya^{c}qoub was first defeated, could be the village of this name among the Aït Zelten, near the kaid's house. Irgharen, where he put the rebels to flight, would be the present-day Iregharen among the Ida ou Tanan (Aït Ouqsri). Cf. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. III, p. 493.

In the reign of Abou Tabet, in 1308, there was first of all the disturbance created by a pretender, Yousof Ibn ^{c}Ali ^{c}Ayyad, at Aghmat among the Heskoura; then in the western part of the Deren an independent chief, ^{c}Omar ben Haddo ben Yousef, claimed the title of "agellid," Berbère /Berber/ king of the Seksawa. After a semblance of war, the Sultan contented himself with receiving presents from ^{c}Omar ben Haddo, had the Rokna, a rebel tribe who had taken refuge among the Haha, pursued, and left again to chastise the Arabs in the plains of the North (2).

[103]

2. Roudh el Kartas, p. 551. Tamezouart is without doubt the present village of Tamezaourt near our post of Bigoudine, on the main Makhzen /makhzan/ road from Bibaoun. The Rokna

/151 cont./

621 rock, in a spot propitious for defense. Each hamlet, "tadchert"
613 (1),

1. "Tadchert," Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "dechra," village.

is customarily peopled by two or three family groups, to which one gives the name of "Ikhs" (2).

2. "Ikhs," Berb., which has the etymological sense of bone. In Arabized country the family group is also designated by "ᶜadam" (same original meaning) or by "fekhda."

As we have seen, these are little patriarchal and agnatic units formed by the sons and grandsons of the same father, living more or less in joint possession, augmented often by contributions from outside.

It often happens, moreover, that each "ikhs" occupies a
6 [103] separate group of houses. The hamlet sometimes takes the name of a locality or topographic accident: Assaka, the ford; Taourirt, the hill; Agerd, the brow of a hill; Achbarro, the sentinel post; Anammer, the sunlit slope. Often, too, the name of the family prevails over that of the place inhabited: Iᶜaisaten, the sons of ᶜAisa; Taourirt n Aït lHachmi, the hill of the sons of l'Hachmi; usually both names, that of the locality and that of the ethnic group, exist at the same time.

621 Three or four hamlets close together, or a big village, like
632 the ones that sometimes exist at the upper part of the wadis, near the rich pastures of the summits, generally form a unit to which in this region one often gives the name of "moudaᶜ" (3).

114 3. From the Arabic "moudaᶜ," place.
613 Doutté gives the name of "clan" to this
621 group ("Organisation sociale et domestique
632
113